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WEEKEND READING FOR THE PRESIDENT

REFER TO DOS

3-4 January 1970

ContentsVIETNAM

1. Tad Szulc, "Giap Indicates a Change in Hanoi's Battle Tactics," New York Times, December 28, 1969.

The North Vietnamese Defense Minister, Vo Nguyen Giap, published a series of articles on Communist military strategy and tactics in the party and army newspapers in Hanoi in mid-December. The articles provide some rather authoritative clues to Hanoi's longer term strategy in the South. The emphasis seems to be on "rational" and "economical" use of forces in battle with the enemy, and on the creation of "high quality" mobile units equipped to fight a protracted war.

USSR

2. Tibor Szamuely, "Red Army Herring," Spectator (London), December 20, 1969.

The author, who is lecturer in Politics at the University of Reading, is skeptical of the conventional view that Soviet "hard-line" behavior is due to the pressure exerted by the Soviet military. He points to the ample historical record of military subservience to the Communist Party. The Western myth of military pressure on a "dovish" Politburo results, he thinks, from the traditional liberal suspicion of the military, and from "our continuing inability to comprehend the unique nature of the Soviet system."

USSR & JAPAN

3. Alain Bouc, "Japan Reaches for the Kuriles," Le Monde (Weekly Selection), December 24, 1969.

A French commentator discusses the background of Japan's revived public claim to the Southern Kurile islands, which Stalin took from Japan at Yalta in 1945. All Japanese, even the Japanese Communists, back the

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Government's efforts to raise the issue with the USSR. Both Peking and Washington, the writer notes, support Tokyo's claim, but the Russians adamantly refuse to discuss it.

USSR, JAPAN & CHINA

4. "Mao Tse-tung's Talk with Japanese Socialists," an article published in a Japanese Socialist newspaper, August 11, 1964, reprinted in Pravda, September 2, 1964.

One reason for the Soviet Union's "uptightness" about the Kurile islands may be the emphatic support which Mao Tse-tung has given to Japan's claim. In August 1964 Mao commented to a group of Japanese visitors that the Soviet Union should return the territories it took from the defeated powers of World War II; he explicitly called into question Russia's jurisdiction not only of the Kuriles, but also of the parts of Germany, Poland and Romania that Stalin incorporated into the USSR in 1945. Mao also urged that capitalist states in the "intermediate zone" between the U.S. and the Communist camp (e.g., Japan, Europe, Canada, and the Third World) join with China against the United States.

5. "In Connection with Mao Tse-tung's Talk with a Group of Japanese Socialists", Pravda editorial, September 2, 1964.

Pravda reacted violently to the accounts of Mao's talk with the group of Japanese Socialists in August 1964. The Soviet party newspaper reprinted the text of Mao's comments (Item #4 above), and added this lengthy editorial condemning the "great-power chauvinism" and "desire for hegemony" which it saw in Mao's words. One of the more emotional Soviet contributions in the early years of the Sino-Soviet split.

SALT

6. Jeremy J. Stone, "When and How to Use 'SALT'," Foreign Affairs, January 1970.

Stone is an International Affairs Scholar at the Council on Foreign Relations and a prominent advocate of strategic arms control. Nevertheless, he believes that the prospects for a formal treaty arising from SALT are

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poor, and he notes the danger that failure or only-partial success in SALT could even accelerate the nuclear arms race. Therefore, he urges greater public understanding of possible beneficial uses that SALT could have even^{if} no formal treaty ensues. For one thing, SALT could be seized upon by each side as an occasion to act unilaterally in eliminating its own obsolete strategic weapons systems, instead of buying forms of protective "insurance" for them which are themselves inadequate. "The first priority ought to be a thorough examination of the arms-procurement process at home."

INDIA

7. Sydney H. Schanberg, "Obstacles Beset Mrs. Gandhi on Road to Socialism," New York Times, December 30, 1969.

A Times correspondent in Bombay reviews the current Indian political scene. He describes particularly well Mrs. Gandhi's "credibility gap" problem with the Indian electorate, and what she may do to correct this.

PASSING OF THE DECADE

8. Israel Shenker, "The Crucial Years: The 1960's - The 1970's," New York Times Special Supplement, December 30, 1969.

A collection of musings on the passing of the decade by some distinguished (and some notorious) members of the intellectual community. Noam Chomsky, Stanley Hoffmann, Sidney Hook, and others, are interviewed. A wide-ranging discussion, with many points which may possibly be of interest.

WEEKEND READING FOR THE PRESIDENT

10-11 January 1970

Contents

FRANCE, THE USSR, AND NORTH AFRICA

1. Philippe Herreman, "The North African Campaign: Pompidou's Diplomatic Offensive," LE MONDE (Weekly Selection), December 31, 1969.

A short article commenting on France's vigorous efforts to "strengthen the French presence in the Western Mediterranean" by increasing her military aid to North African countries. Recent French initiatives in this direction, it reports, are prompted by a belief that the cause of peace in this area will be helped if a monopoly of arms supplies is not left to the superpowers. The author believes the North Africans themselves to be somewhat suspicious of French motives, and also suggests that in general the U.S. may not be displeased to see France forestalling further Soviet penetration. The haste with which France moved in Libya, however, is probably less palatable to the U.S.

2. Guy deCarmoy, "France, Algeria and the Soviet Penetration in the Mediterranean," Interplay, October 1969.

A French scholar examines how Soviet penetration into the Mediterranean since 1967 has affected relations between France and Algeria, between Algeria and the USSR, and between the USSR and France. He finds that France's relations with Algeria are strained because of the increasing demands that Algeria is making upon her; that Algeria's growing dependence on the USSR in the field of arms supplies could well be shrinking, and not expanding, Algeria's freedom of action; and that Soviet penetration into the Mediterranean has led France -- but only since the invasion of Czechoslovakia -- to strengthen her ties with the Atlantic Alliance.

THE SOVIET FLEET IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

3. Kurt Becker, "The Sixth Fleet and the Russian Squadrons," Moderne Welt, November 3, 1969, in THE GERMAN TRIBUNE Quarterly Review, December 16, 1969.

A German journalist concludes that, on balance, the significance of the Soviet naval presence in the Mediterranean is more political than military. Further expansion of the Soviet Mediterranean fleet would raise the question whether the fleet has a purpose beyond those of deterrence and protection of the USSR's political positions and economic interests. Its size will probably increase, and it will become a more serious threat, if Soviet political and economic penetration into Arab lands creates new alliances and dependences. But this political and economic penetration could still be countered, and the presence of the Soviet fleet -- coupled with the Czech invasion -- has already had a unifying effect on the Atlantic Alliance.

USSR: SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

4. Foy D. Kohler and Mose L. Harvey, "On Appraising Soviet Science and Technology," Interplay, November 1969.

The authors -- a former ambassador to the USSR and an academic specialist in Soviet affairs -- argue that Soviet strength in the scientific and technological field should be neither overestimated nor underestimated. The absurdly exaggerated notions of Soviet technical prowess that Sputnik gave rise to now seem to be giving way, since the Apollo landing, to complacent downgrading of Soviet capabilities. This new tendency is dangerous, both because of recent adverse trends in U.S. science policies and because of vigorous remedial efforts undertaken by the Soviets.

GERMANY

5. P. -J. Franceschini, "German Reunification: The Myth Has Lost Its Magic," LE MONDE (Weekly Selection), December 31, 1969.

Recent developments in West German politics and the rise of a new generation have brought about a new realism in German public opinion about the prospects for reunification. The author, a French journalist, believes that Germans now

recognize that reunification is impossible. Only a few years ago, West German politicians were afraid to pour cold water on popular hopes, and some Germans continued to believe that the inherent weakness of the East German regime, and the strength of the EEC as a magnet ultimately bringing all of Europe together, made reunification a practical possibility. Today, West Germans seem willing to live with the concept of Germany as a unified "nation" in a cultural sense, even though not a unified state.

COMMUNIST CHINA

6. "The Making of a Red Guard," The New York Times Magazine, January 4, 1970.

A 19-year-old Chinese student who, from the age of 16, took part in the upheaval of the Cultural Revolution and later fled the mainland, tells of his participation and his fear. What comes through vividly in this article is the dynamics of the mass purge situation: in this regard, it is probably no different from the Stalinist purge campaigns of the thirties in the USSR. The campaign is launched by the top leadership and initially pointed at certain classes or groups. But it takes on its own momentum from the panic of those swept up in it, and it becomes a wave of uncontrolled mob action and indiscriminate mutual denunciation. No individual at any lower or intermediate level dares to suggest restraint or fairness, for fear of being denounced as a traitor; the prudent course is to denounce someone else first and remain on the offensive, though not too conspicuously. The brutality, psychological as well as physical, is quite terrifying.

VIETNAM

7. John Osborne, "Doubts about Vietnamization," The New Republic, January 3, 1970.

An editor of the liberal New Republic expresses a cautiously favorable view of the meaning of our Vietnamization policy. He has doubts about whether Vietnamization will accomplish what it promises to do, and he adds at the end that we ought to try harder to communicate verbally and more directly to Hanoi that we want a settlement. But he believes your statement that we are willing to accept any government chosen by fair election in South Vietnam, and he says he discerns many signs that we are willing to make concessions to achieve a negotiated settlement. He sees the "hard language"

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coming from the White House as a sign not that we are about to escalate but that we are trying to convince Hanoi that it will indeed profit from early negotiation.

INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS

8. Caroline M. Miles, "The International Corporation,"
International Affairs, April 1969.

A British economist writing in the journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs examines some of the areas of conflict between large international corporations and the governments of the countries in which they do business. Most of the anxieties that foreign direct investment has given rise to, she finds, are somewhat nebulous fears. The problem of debt service payment (as a drain on the host country's balance of payments) is more significant, but it has not been studied sufficiently to tell what the scale of its effects is. Economics and European nationalism both seem to point to a possible "solution": the countervailing power of large-scale multinational European corporations. But the legal and economic evolution necessary for this has been slow.